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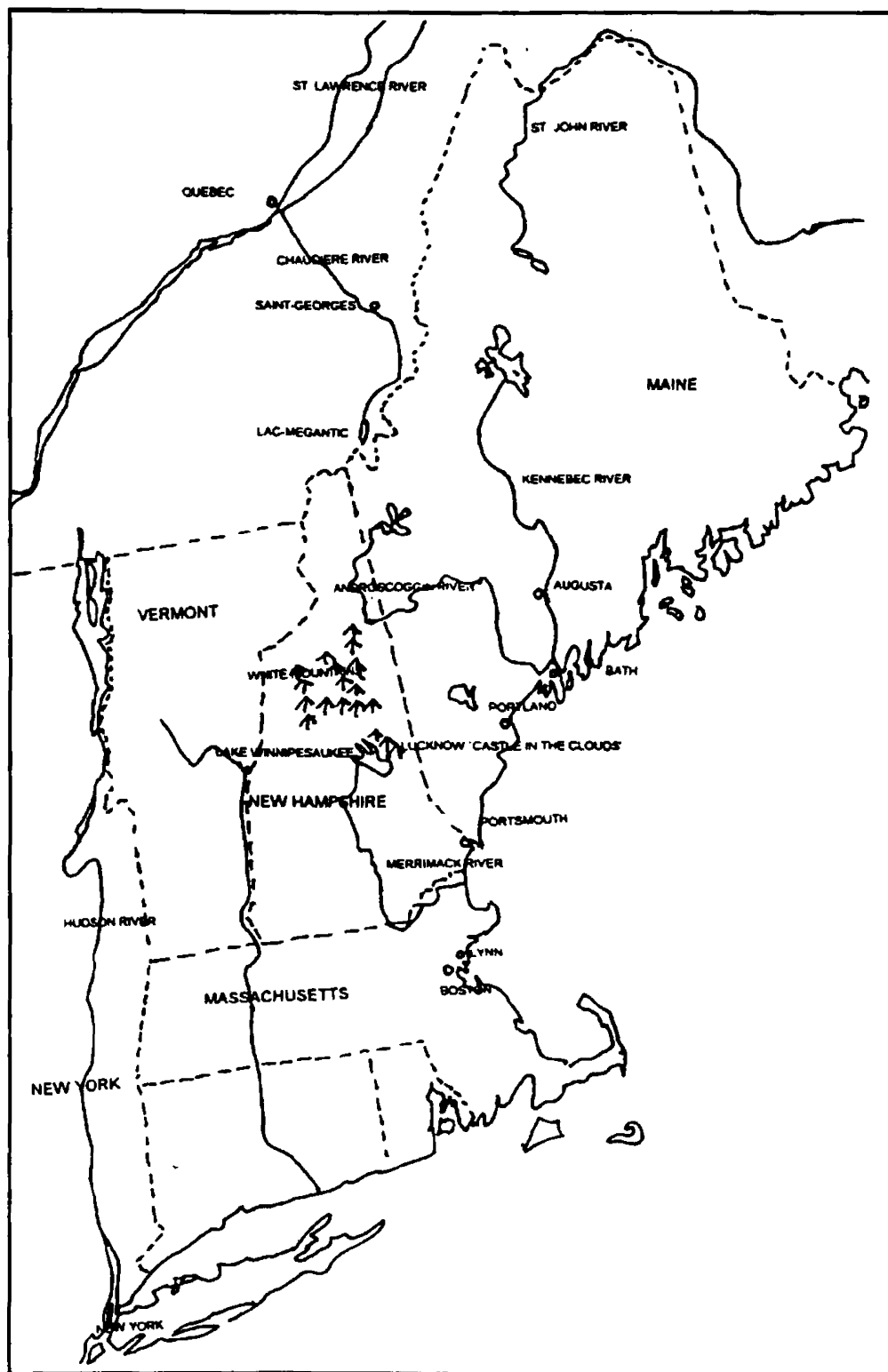
BARRY H. RODRIGUE

CULTURAL TRIGONOMETRY OF FRANCO-AMERICAN STEREOTYPES

The life of Franco-American Tom Plant represents a group of "lost Francos" who came to the United States prior to the great migrations of 1870-1920. His experience differed from that of the archetypical French-Canadian who found work in a textile mill and settled into one of New England's many petits Canadas. Plant's life adds another facet to a story much richer and more complex than most scholars of Franco-America have documented.

The experiences of the French in North America have been obscured by a restrictive set of stereotypes. Many Yankees still perceive French North America as priest-ridden and feudal, while Franco-Americans, themselves tend to reject those who fail to conform to their model of the immigrant experience. There is a peculiar trigonometry in the ethnic identities as portrayed by Yankee and French élites and their academic allies. Unwittingly, these three groups have cooperated in creating a caricature of what it truly means to be a Franco-American.¹

The term "Franco-American" has come to refer to a highly specific ethnic experience: the families of French-Canadian immigrants who came to the United States between 1870-1920, grew up in the *petits Canadas* of New England mill towns, spoke French, worshipped in the Roman Catholic faith, endorsed conservative political agendas, and generally did not assimilate into Yankee society until after World War II. This has become



The world of Thomas G. Plant.

Map by Raymond Estabrook, 1993.

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a hidebound stereotype that collapses the various waves of French Canadian immigration into one narrow identity and distorts a rich heritage into a fossilized image of what has really been, and continues to be, a diverse social phenomena.

The life of Thomas G. Plant illustrates the need for a general reevaluation of the French experience in North America. Plant was born in Bath, Maine, in 1859. His mother, Sophie Rodrigue, had "traveled through the woods" with her family from Lower Canada to Maine in the 1820s. His father, Antoine Plante, came through Augusta in 1834. Antoine and Sophie settled at the mouth of the Kennebec River in Bath, married, and had children. Antoine worked as a sailor and was wounded during an infantry charge with the Seventh Maine in the Civil War. His father being an invalid, Tom grew up in poverty in a French-Canadian neighborhood called "Canada Hill" or "French Hill." He left school at age fourteen, during the depression of 1873, and took work as a boilermaker and ice cutter. He was also known as one of the best baseball players in Maine. At this time Massachusetts shoe manufacturers had begun to establish factories in Maine as a strike-breaking tactic against their home shops, and Tom became an apprentice shoe laster in one of these "country factories."²

In 1880 young Tom left Maine for Lynn, Massachusetts – the "shoemaking capital of the world." The work conditions damaged his eyesight, so he left to recuperate with relatives in California. Upon his return to Lynn at the age of twenty-five, he founded a cooperative shoe venture with money from a baseball wager. Over the next three decades the Thomas G. Plant Company grew to become the world's largest shoe factory. Plant became an advocate of "enlightened" capitalism and a supporter of Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive party. He sold out to the multinational United Shoe Machinery Company in 1910 and retired as the wealthiest Franco-American of his era. Some estimate his fortune as high as \$26 million.³

Plant built a 6,500-acre estate on Lake Winnepesaukee, an exclusive golf club, and an old-folks home for impoverished workers in Bath. However, just before the stock market crash of

1929, his investments began to go sour: He had invested in Russian bonds just before the October Revolution, in sugar just before its collapse after World War I, and in unproductive lands during the Jazz Era. Plant did not successfully make the transition from industrialist to financier and was forced to borrow money from neighbors and business associates. He died broke in 1941, just before creditors auctioned off everything he owned. His factory is now in ruins, a casualty of the largest single-building fire in Boston's history, and his estate exists as a major tourist attraction run by a national corporation that bottles water from his mountaintop under the label of *Castle Springs*.⁴

Although Tom Plant never appeared in Franco-American directories like *Le Guide Officiel*, he would be considered a Franco-American by any of the yardsticks with which we measure ethnicity: Both his parents were French Canadian; he was raised in a French-Canadian neighborhood surrounded by family and friends from Canada; he spoke French, he spent his leisure time studying French history and traveling in France; and he was identified by Yankees as French Canadian. Nonetheless, Francos who tour his estate are not aware of his heritage, a subject equally obscure in the Yankee tour guides. Tom Plant is representative of a group of "lost Francos," descendants of French Canadians who came to the United States prior to the great mill migrations of 1870-1920. The timing of this early migration was a significant factor in Tom Plant's success and is representative of a different and often overlooked group of Franco-Americans who defy current stereotypes of their society.

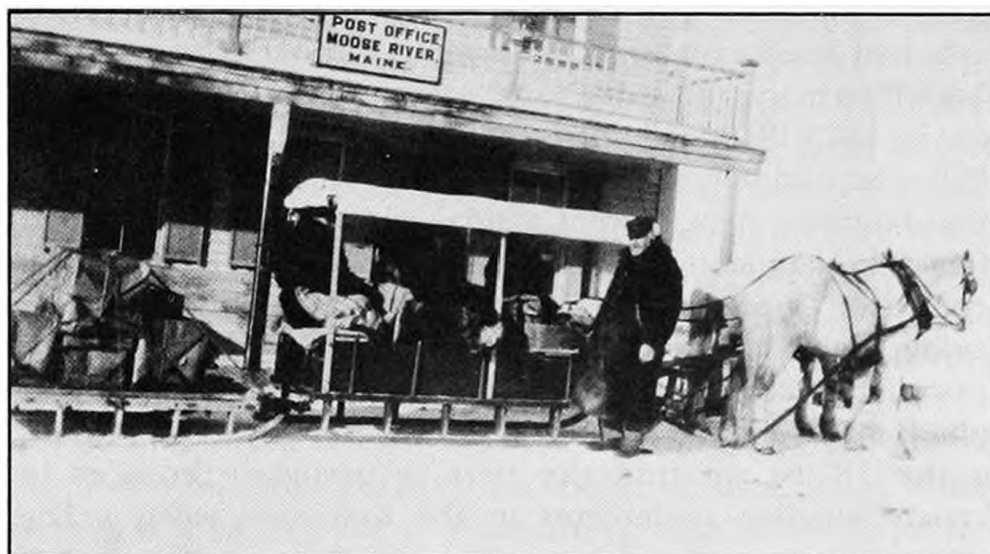
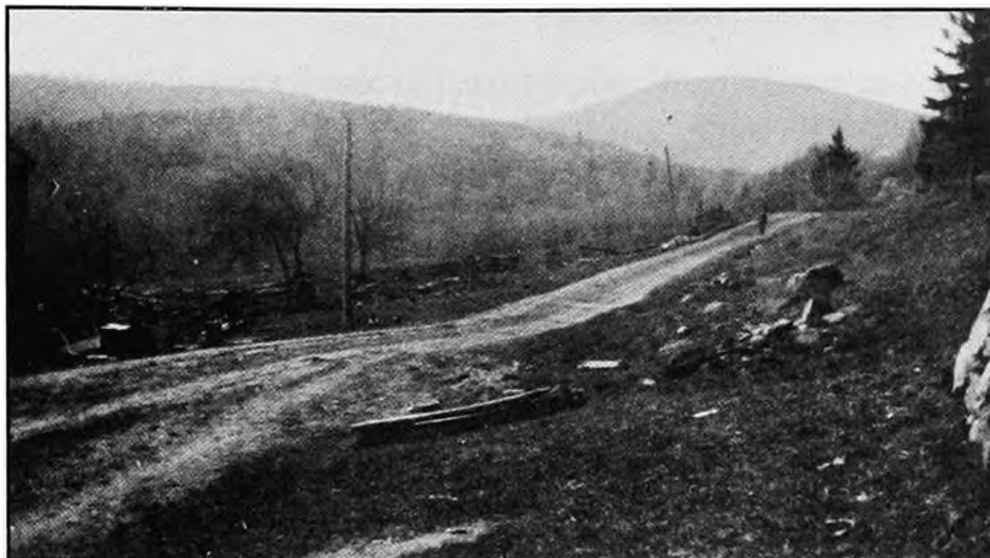
There are no hard figures about the numbers of French Canadians who left Lower Canada before 1840, but the majority are known to have entered New England by way of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain. Haying and other farm work in Vermont, southern New Hampshire, and western Massachusetts maintained these travelers as they continued into southern New England factory towns like Worcester and Woonsocket.⁵ Nonetheless, the Chaudière-Kennebec route into Maine provided a significant alternative for a different population of French Canadians.

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In the early nineteenth century northwestern Maine and southeastern Quebec were still wilderness regions. Two rivers in this area connect the St. Lawrence valley to the Atlantic seaboard. The Rivière Chaudière flows northwest for 115 miles from Lac Mégantic to the Saint Lawrence River. A portage over a narrow and marshy "height-of-land" joins the Chaudière with the Kennebec River system, which drains central Maine south for 150 miles from Moosehead Lake to the Atlantic Ocean. This route had been used by Native, French, and English travelers for centuries before the industrial revolution attracted *habitants* to Maine. Ralph Vicero estimates that 2,500 French Canadians had immigrated to Maine by 1840; 2,680 by 1850; and 7,490 by 1860. Comparing this to Yolande Lavoie's calculations, this represents about 10 percent of the total number of French Canadians migrating to the United States as a whole.⁶ Why did it occur?

As Yankees moved up the Kennebec River valley above Waterville in the early nineteenth century, they found themselves closer to Quebec City than to Boston. The capital of Lower Canada, Quebec was a port and administrative center. It needed provisions, notably livestock. Farmers in northwestern Maine gravitated toward this market, and in 1810 a Maine surveyor laid out a Kennebec-Chaudière Road which was to connect Somerset and Beauce counties. Although the Lower Canadians began to build their part of this road by 1815, most of the early effort emerged on the U.S. side of the border. As an exporter, Maine stood to profit most from this international connection. In 1817 the Massachusetts legislature authorized construction of the Canada Road. Trees were to be taken up by the roots to a width of fifteen feet, and a "traveled path" was to be made suitable for the passage of loaded carts, sleds, and other such conveyances. It was a rough passage for settlers, drovers, and travelers alike.⁷

The District of Maine became a separate state in 1820. The new legislators decided to upgrade the Canada Road to a carriageway in 1828, a reflection of increasing trade north. In 1831 it was reported that 1,394 beef cattle, 249 horses, 956 sheep, and fourteen tons of fresh fish passed over the Canada Road going north. These products came from several agricultural



The Canada Road at Sandy Bay Mountain (above, 1913) and the Parcel Post Canadian Stage (below, 1915). Connecting the lower Kennebec River towns with the city of Quebec, the Kennebec Road provided a difficult passage for both Yankees and Francos seeking better lives.

Zilla Holden photos, courtesy Ruth Reed, Jackman, Maine.

districts of Maine, and a considerable portion of them were articles that had glutted local markets. Lower Canada thus became an economic safety valve for Maine's overproduction.⁸

Events in Maine began to encourage a return traffic over the road. In 1829 administrators in Augusta, the state's new capital, began construction of a statehouse and laid plans for a hospital for the insane and a federal arsenal. Residents hoped

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for not only an bureaucratic future, but also for new large-scale industries which led to plans for a dam across the Kennebec River to power mills. It was in response to the need for workers in towns like Augusta that the first French Canadians migrated into Maine. Many came from Beauce County.⁹

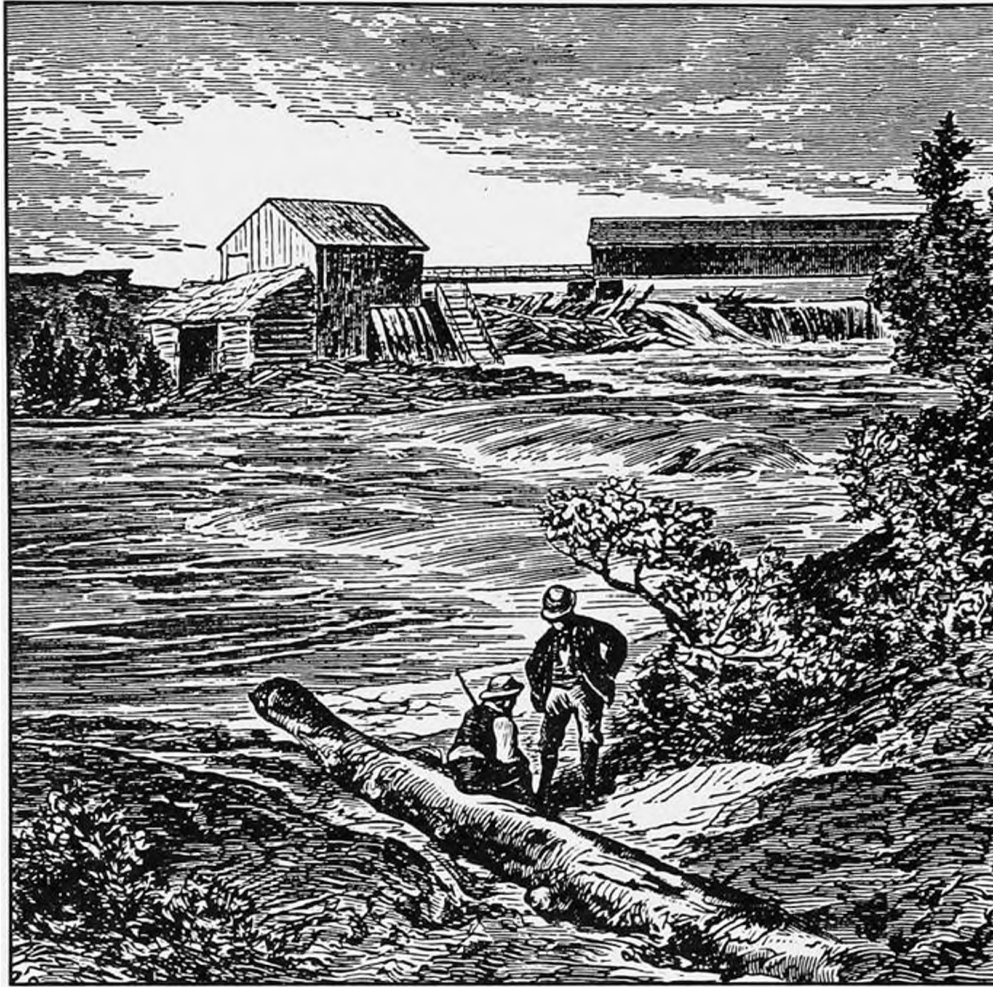
Beauce is a rectangular county abutting the northwestern corner of Maine. It had been settled in the mid-eighteenth century by *habitants* who had developed a very distinct regional culture. Their isolation from government centers made them even more independent. Yankee merchants en route to Quebec City brought *les beaucerons* information from the United States, and they gained a reputation for being shrewd traders. Beauce's economic base was agriculture, but the soil of the earlier settled lands had been exhausted by farming without crop rotation. This left farmers vulnerable to adverse weather. A brutally cold year in 1815-1816, a destructive hailstorm at harvest time in 1829, and untimely frosts and excessive rains in 1834 caused periodic crises. Also, Lower Canada's wheat economy collapsed after the Napoleonic Wars, under competition from more productive Upper Canadian farms. The economic problems leading to the Panic of 1837 compounded natural disaster with poor market conditions. By 1837 *Le Canadien* reported that Saint-Georges and Saint-François suffered "une excessive misère." In the 1820s, we find the first recurring references to French-Canadian settlements in the Kennebec valley. The reports are sparse, but this was about to change as the Yankee diaspora from the south met the French Canadian diaspora from the north.¹⁰

The Canada Road had mostly drawn Yankee settlers who hoped to make a living from the increasing commerce between the two countries. The family of Elisha Hilton settled on the Maine side of the border in June 1831 and built a roadhouse for travelers. Their nearest neighbors were eleven miles away. Hilton had to haul supplies from the Maine town of Concord, sixty miles away, and go another twenty miles to grind his grain in Anson. He maintained a portion of the road on his own, removing blowdowns in the summer and breaking out the snow

in the winter. His expectations for making a living were disappointed, in part, by an unexpected influx of people flowing south across the border. This was the result of many factors besides agricultural downturns, including large numbers of Irish immigrants to Quebec, a cholera epidemic, the decline of industrial jobs in Quebec City, and a shift from a subsistence to a cash economy. Hilton estimated that he provided 1,400 meals to immigrants during his first three-and-a-half years on the border. Others living on the Canada Road also sought state assistance for the relief they provided travelers.¹¹

The French Canadians who came to Maine in the 1820s and 1830s were no less wilderness travelers than those on the Oregon Trail at the far side of the continent. Their frontier lay to the southeast, and construction of the Canada Road in 1817 and its upgrading after 1828 helped workers to migrate. This first migration was indecisive: some came and stayed; some left. A majority seem to have been sojourners, making money in Maine to take back to Canada to help maintain or acquire farms. It was by no means a one-way need. Maine employers needed workers and actively encouraged migration of Quebeckers.

The distance from the Canadian frontier settlements to the nearest Maine town was about fifty miles, and travel could be treacherous. John Delano, a traveler from Quebec City, came down with smallpox just over the border on the Canada Road, forcing him to stop for two months at Seth Stewart's house. Stewart was a poor man with a large family and was hard-pressed to care for another person. James Jackman had first gone to work on the Canada Road as a laborer in 1828. Although an experienced woodsman, he encountered difficulties. On a return trip from Quebec City in February 1832, he froze his feet on the Height of Land and remained out of work for six months. In the summer of 1836 a woman carried a dead child on her back for twelve miles to Hilton's house before anyone would take her in or help bury the little one. Cemeteries along the Canada Road contained markers like "One stranger found frozen along the road between Hilton Farm and the Canada Line" and "One skeleton found while clearing a back field on the Hilton Farm."¹²



Augusta, like many Maine towns in the first decades after statehood, was an aspiring industrial center. Labor-hungry mills attracted both French-Canadian and Irish workers.
Insert illustration from John Francis Sprague, SEBASTIAN RALE, Deering Collection.

Those who moved up or down the Chaudière and Kennebec rivers in the 1820s and 1830s were a discontented generation – *des oiseaux de passage*. Yet the early immigrants provided a reference point for their later migrating kin, focal points for “chain migration” and “chain employment,” where relatives, friends, and neighbors secured housing and employment for their French-Canadian compatriots. The newly opened Canada Road made such travel more practical for entire families and temporary migration for seasonal jobs more attractive. As the economic situation eroded in Lower Canada and improved in Maine, many sojourners decided to stay and become settlers.

Indeed, none of Sophie Rodrigue's seven brothers and sisters appear to have married in Quebec.¹³ This pattern would increase as the century progressed.

One of the more complete English-language views of early French-Canadian settlement along the Kennebec River came from the pen of Nathaniel Hawthorne. In the summer of 1837, the thirty-three-year-old Hawthorne visited his old college friend, Horatio Bridge, for a month in Augusta. The son of a local politician, Bridge had begun construction of an extensive dam across the Kennebec River and was learning French in order to deal with French-Canadian workers on the project.¹⁴

Hawthorne described a city in a state of construction. Quarry men blasted rocks two or three times a day, and the roar echoed through the valley; chaises and wagons stopped to allow their passengers to view the dam, while rafts of boards navigated through a gap left mid-stream; a constant hammering mingled with the voices of the French and Irish workers. Mansions under construction contrasted with "board-built and turf-buttressed hovels" that were "scattered about as if they had sprung up like mushrooms."¹⁵

Augusta, like all of central Maine, was in the early stages of an industrial revolution, and developers welcomed the migrating French-Canadian and Irish workers. Hawthorne thought it peculiar to hear Gaelic and French intermixed there "on the borders of Yankeeland," as children went from door to door selling strawberries.¹⁶ He described his encounters with the workers and their families in a sympathetic, but condescending manner, projecting an elite Yankee view of these recent arrivals.

It was about dusk – just candle-lighting time – when we visited them. A young Frenchwoman, with a baby in her arms, came to the door of one of them, smiling, and looking pretty and happy. Her husband, a dark, black-haired, lively little fellow, caressed the child, laughing and singing to it; and there was a red-headed Irishman, who

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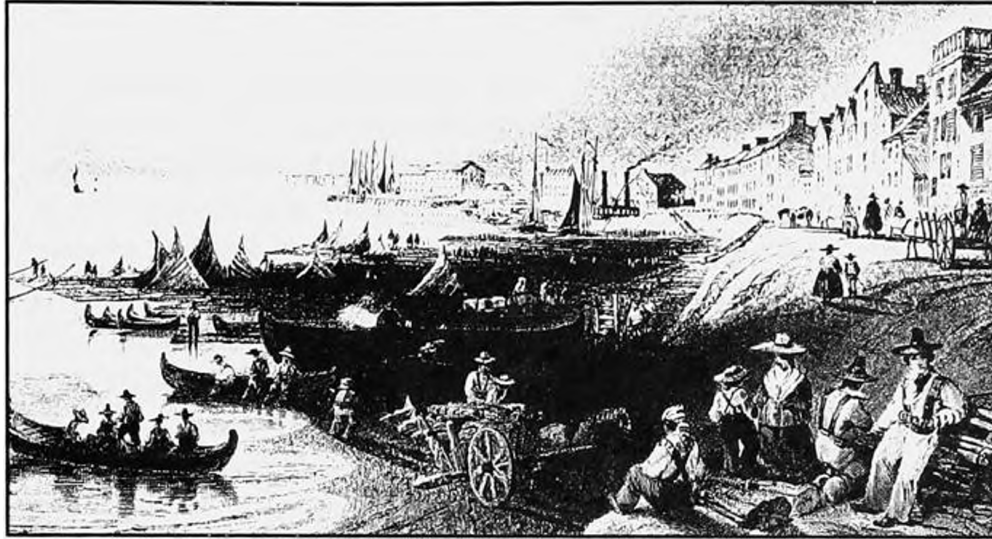
likewise fondled the little brat. Then we could hear them within the hut, gabbling merrily, and could see them moving about briskly in the candle light, through the window and open door.¹⁷

The Irish and French lived together in two or three small villages on the outskirts of Augusta. Their houses could be built in three or four days and were valued at four to five dollars. Up to twenty people would occasionally live in a hut less than twenty feet square. Earth would be piled up to two or three feet thick against the outer walls and occasionally sod covered the roofs, making an almost subterranean dwelling. Clay-covered boards or an old barrel, smoked and charred by a cooking fire, would serve as a chimney. The heavy construction on the dam was winding down. Many of the people occupying these villages during Hawthorne's visit were squatters who had moved in after the 1836 work season. These families sold and exchanged rights of occupancy between themselves and sometimes fought each other over the shanteys, occasionally pitting Irish against French.¹⁸

Completion of the dam did not end the need for French and Irish workers in the Kennebec valley. Fires, floods, and other disasters created a need for almost continual maintenance and repair. Workers were needed to work in the mills powered by it. Sawmills and machine shops grew and, in 1846, the first cotton mill was built, as well as a flour mill.¹⁹ Those *habitants* who penetrated into urban Maine knew that they had come to a new land with a different language, a different religion, and different opportunities.

Ce n'était plus la fourrure, la forêt ou la mine qui faisait se déplacer les Canadiens français mais l'usine, la "factorie" comme ils disaient. La frontière était devenue urbaine et industrielle, en plein capitalisme sauvage.²⁰

However, not all the immigrants traveling down the Canada Road were recently arrived Irish, poverty-stricken *habitants*, or diseased travelers.



The port cities of Quebec and Montreal (above) lay at one end of the Chaudiere-Kennebec Route and Bath at the other. Mariner Antoine Plante may have settled in Bath so that he could work and have a family too.

Insert Illustration from Joseph Whipple, HISTORY OF ACADIE, PENOBSCOT BAY AND RIVER, Deering collection.

Over a period of nearly twenty years Elisha Hilton reported having served hundreds of “ship-wrecked” sailors from the Saint Lawrence River, many being citizens of the United States. Hilton probably did not recognize the work pattern of sailors from the river valley. When the great river froze in the fall, it was typical for sailors who had been caught in Canada to go on the tramp for winter jobs in down-east ports or further south. Hilton’s report might provide a clue to Antoine Plante’s migration to Bath.²¹

The life of a sailor was not easy, especially if one had the desire for a home. This was doubly true for a Canadian on the Saint Lawrence River. Lumber ships and newly made vessels from Lower Canada usually left the river on a one-way voyage, being sold or rerouted upon their arrival in Europe. Once in Europe, Canadian sailors had to compete for a berth back to North America. This prospect did not encourage settled French Canadians to follow a sailor’s life.²² Perhaps this situation motivated Antoine Plante to settle in Bath, where he could go to sea and have a family too. Bath’s rise as a preeminent Atlantic port provided a good alternative to hard times on the Saint Lawrence.

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Bath lay at the southern end of the Chaudière-Kennebec route. After the War of 1812 it became a center of industry and the busiest port to the east of Portland, said to have had its vessels wrecked on the coast of every continent in the world. A joke ran that Bath ship wrights built their vessels by the mile, just sawing them off to fit on a bow and stern. The “Shipbuilding City” also developed a thriving economy based on the West Indies and European trades.²³ It was only natural that the Rodrigue and Plante families would have been attracted to Bath, where they and their children found work in its energetic and growing industries.

Although Bath came to be dominated by the carrying trade, it attracted many support industries, such as foundries, lumber mills, brick yards, sail lofts, cordage and ropewalks, and shops for ships’ components, such as water tanks, windlasses, and anchors. Bath was a booming manufacturing center, offering a diversity of employment. Early records show that Antoine Plant worked as a sailor, and Levi Roderick as a brass molder – occupations not usually associated with French Canadians in Maine, and their names became Anglicized. In later times, when jobs were scarce and the numbers of French Canadians and Irish greater, hostility broke out between these two ethnic groups, resulting in armed conflicts and separate Catholic parishes.²⁴ But these were years of relatively peaceful coexistence. The French Canadians and Irish worshipped in the same church and intermarried.

Such marriages were difficult to arrange, however, because of the small Catholic ministry in Maine. The entire state had only two Roman Catholic parishes before 1830, and only six more by 1850. Until a parish was established in a town, Catholic rites were usually performed by traveling priests – *missionaries de passage* – who would periodically make a circuit from their home parishes through the unorganized regions of Maine. And it would appear that Catholics in Bath had another alternative: conversion to Protestantism. The first inter-ethnic marriage in Plant’s family took place in 1844 between Levi “Rodring” and Mary Hart. The Protestant Reverend John Deering performed the ceremony. After St. Mary’s was established in Bath, the Plant family joined

the parish. Although they did not have obviously French neighbors, French names did appear in small, diffused clusters throughout Bath.²⁵

As the Plant and Roderick families were establishing themselves in Bath, anti-Catholic feeling in the Northeast was coming to a head. "Native" Americans – white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants born in the United States – blamed economic hard times after the Panic of 1837 on immigrant and Catholic workers. Cities in New England and elsewhere experienced a sharp rise in mob violence. In 1854 a preacher known as "Angel Gabriel" came to Bath and excited crowds with an anti-Catholic message in a series of open air meetings. A mob broke away from his gathering to converge on the Old South Meeting House, recently rented by local Catholics. The church was ransacked and then burned. The riots continued for five days, mostly in the evenings. Several Catholic families were threatened. Their houses were pelted with sticks and stones, and some destroyed. City officials, police, and militia did little, although there were some heroic acts by individuals to halt the mob. Only one person was arrested for the violence, and he was not convicted. Such mob rule would be reason enough to change religion.²⁶

Others of Tom Plant's extended family perhaps more accurately represent the mobile lives of the working immigrant of this era. His cousin, Meserve "Levi" Rodrick (Oliver Rodrigue), and his family moved to Maine around 1835, returned to Canada, came back to Maine in the late 1840s, continued down the Kennebec River from Fairfield to Bath after 1855, and left Bath around 1860 to work the lumber boom on the Penobscot River, where his in-laws, the DesRochers, ran a livery stable. He then migrated to Augusta in 1876, where the his descendants remained for the next century.²⁷

So, prior to the Civil War, a few thousand French Canadian settlers in Maine found themselves adrift in a sea of Yankees. The pressures to assimilate were strong – indeed, assimilation was a matter of survival. Small French clusters began to grow in Maine cities, but they were no fortresses against the Anglo world, as the *petits Canadas* would be a few decades later. The newcom-

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ers learned English, changed their names and religion, took “atypical” employment, and patriotically participated in U.S. events. Tom Plant was among these early families, and his assimilation was a significant factor in his rise to success.

The above narrative is limited, but it does point to the need for more study of French North American cultural stratigraphy. The Franco experience was diverse. Within two generations of the Plant and Rodrigue settlement in Maine, industrial expansion created a huge demand for workers. The subsequent influx of almost a million French Canadians brought about the development of new Franco-New England societies. A wide gulf stands between these early and later French migrants. Different circumstances created different societies from the same culture.

The literature on Franco-Americans reveals little about these early migrations. The documentation of pre-Civil War migration is scattered, but promising. The history of this period requires interdisciplinary study, patient work in piecing together small bits of information, and a transborder approach. The story of the Canada Road and its travelers is a jig-saw puzzle for which local people on both sides of the frontier have pieces. By understanding the first French Canadians who migrated to Maine and the alternative routes to success that they took, we can see the many possible paths that were open to Franco-Americans. Indeed, the Franco-American “exceptions” of the mill-migration era should be scrutinized more closely in order to reevaluate the larger picture. The “*petit Canada*,” and “*la survivance*” were not universal or all-encompassing. By revising our view of the past we can change the present. As present-day French North Americans come to appreciate the diversity of their experiences, they will discover they do not need to feel ashamed about either fitting or not fitting into the stereotypes imposed upon them, and can liberate themselves from unnecessary trigonometric definitions.

NOTES

¹See, for instance, François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains: 1860-1980* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 1989).

²Barry H. Rodrigue, *Tom Plant and the Making of a Franco-American Entrepreneur, 1859-1941* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994).

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains De La Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1776-1930* (Sillery, Québec: Éditions du Septentrion, 1990), pp. 18-19; Ralph D. Vicero, "French-Canadian Settlement in Vermont Prior to the Civil War," *Professional Geographer* 22 (October 1971): 290-94.

⁶Madeleine Ferron et Robert Cliche, *Les Beaucerons ces insoumis* (Ville LaSalle, Québec: Hurtubise HMH, 1982), p. 90; Roby, *Les Franco-Américains*, p. 13.

⁷Eugene M. Graves, "A History of Maine's Nineteenth Century Beef Industry," M.A. thesis, University of Maine, 1967, pp 50-52; John A. Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec* (Toronto: Copp Clark, Pitman Ltd., 1993), p. 77; Thomas McKechnie, Townships and Canada Road Survey, 1811 (Plan Book 1, p. 24, Map Case 1, Drawer 11, Folder 11), MSA; Honorius Provost, *Chaudière-Kennebec: grand chemin séculaire* (Québec: Éditions Garneau, c 1974), p. 230; France Bélanger et autres, *La Beauce et les Beaucerons: Portraits d'une région, 1737-1987* (Saint-Joseph-de-Beauce: La Société du patrimoine des Beaucerons, 1988), p. 61; Commonwealth of Massachusetts, "Resolve Authorizing the Commissioners for the Sale of Public Lands," in *Resolves of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston: Massachusetts General Court, June 12, 1817), p. 422; Lathrop Lewis to John Merrick, July 16, 1817, in Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Eastern Land Office (hereafter ELO), Letters; Samuel Austin et als., contract to cut the road to Canada, ELO, Instructions to Surveyors, June 27, 1817, both in Massachusetts State Archives, Boston; Jackman Bicentennial Book Committee, *The History of the Moose River Valley* (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Printing, 1976), p. 27.

⁸Maine State Joint Standing Committee on State Roads, "Report, February 10, 1832," pp. 5-6, Maine Legislative Papers; Joseph Locke et als., petition, February 1832, Maine Legislative Papers; Abijah Smith to the governor, December 20, 1832, Maine Executive Council Papers; all in MSA.

⁹Edward S. Coffin, "The Untold Story of the Great Kennebec Dam at Augusta," typescript, 1991, Maine State Library, Augusta.

¹⁰See J.I. Little, *Ethno-Cultural Transition and Regional Identity in the Eastern Townships of Quebec* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989): 2, pp. 17-18; Serge Courville, *Entre Ville et Campagne: L'essor du village dans les seigneuries du Bas-Canada* (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1990), pp. 241-56; Serge Courville and Normand Séguin, *Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century Quebec* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1989); John McCallum, *Unequal Beginnings: Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario*

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until 1870 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 3-8; Roby, *Les Franco-Américains*, pp. 14-17; André Garant, *Saint-François de Beauce, Je me Souviens* (Beauceville: L'Imprimerie l'éclaireur, 1985), pp. 109-110; *Le Canadien*, May 26, 1837; L-Philippe Rodrigue to the author, October 21, 1988; Albert Fecteau, "The French Canadian Community of Waterville, Maine," M.A. thesis, University of Maine, 1952, pp. 10-14; Maurice Violette, *The Franco-Americans: A Franco-American Chronicle of Historical and Cultural Environment: Augusta Revisited* (New York: Vantage Press, 1976), pp. 20-21; Elisha Hilton petition, January 14, 1836, Legislative Papers, MSA; Roby, *Les Franco-Américains*, p. 19.

¹¹Elisha Hilton petition; Jacob H. Shaw et als., Report to the Governor, June 18, 1832, in Executive Council Papers, MSA.

¹²Hilton petition; James Jackman petition, February 11, 1835, Maine Legislative Papers, MSA; Jackman Bicentennial Book Committee, *History of the Moose River Valley*, p. 132.

¹³Roby, *Les Franco-Américains*, pp. 19, 23; U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, *Fifth Decennial Census: 1840*, Gardiner, Maine: 32; *Sixth Decennial Census: 1850*, Fairfield, Maine: 126; *Daily Kennebec Journal*, June 3, 1914; Joel Whitney et als., "Report of the Agents for the Kennebec Road to the Governor and Executive Council," February 17, 1830, Executive Council Papers, MSA; Frère Eloi-Gérard, *Recueil de généalogies des comtés de Beauce-Dorchester-Frontenac: 1625-1946* (Beauceville: Collège du Sacré-Coeur, 1946), p. 251; Pierrette Gilbert/Léveillé en collaboration avec René Léveillé, *Répertoire des Mariages, Baptêmes et Sépultures, Paroisse Saint-François-De-La-Nouvelle-Beauce, 1765-1850*, Beauceville (Sainte-Foy: Société de généalogie de Québec, 1986), pp. 220-227; the Rev. Gérard Lebel to the author, June 2, 1988.

¹⁴Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The American Notebooks* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1932), pp. 3-24; James R. Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in his Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1900), p. 27.

¹⁵Hawthorne, *American Notebooks*, pp. 4-5, 8-10, 15, 20.

¹⁶Hawthorne, *American Notebooks*, p. 10.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8, 11-12; Coffin, "Untold Story of the Great Kennebec Dam."

¹⁹Journal of the Bishops, in Coffin, "Untold Story of the Great Kennebec Dam."

²⁰Dean R. Louder and Eric Waddell, *Du Continent Perdu – L'Archipel Retrouvé: Le Québec et l'Amérique française* (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1983), p. 3.

²¹Elisha Hilton petition, May 2, 1848, Legislative Papers, MSA; Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 205, 210; MSA, "Index File Card for Antoine Plant in the 1st Maine Battery of Light Artillery" (Alpha index: 7th Maine Volunteer Infantry); "Record of a Death for Anthony Plant," *Maine Registrar of Vital Statistics*, June 30, 1895; U.S. Department

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of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, "Certificate 18-168, Antonio Plant," Sagadahoc County Courts (Bath, Maine), 5 September 1882; *Weekly Kennebec Journal*, April 30, 1834.

²²Fingard, *Jack in Port*, p. 17.

²³See *Portland Times*, July 20, 1947.

²⁴U.S. Department of Commerce, Census Bureau, *Sixth Decennial Census (1850)* (Bath); U.S. Department of War, Army, Pension File, Antoine Plant; *Directory of the Inhabitants, Institutions, Manufacturing Establishments, Societies, Business Firms, etc., Etc., in Bath, Brunswick & Richmond for 1876-7* (Boston: Greenough, Jones & Co., 1876), p. 67.

²⁵Diocese of Portland, *The Catholic Directory* (Portland: Diocese of Portland, 1987); James P. Allen, *Catholics in Maine*, pp. 64, 67; City of Bath, "List of Marriage Banns Published"; "List of Marriage Returns"; "Index of Marriage Records"; U.S. Department of Commerce, Census, *Sixth Decennial Census (1850)* (Bath); Henry W. Owen, *The Edward Clarence Plummer History of Bath, Maine 1* (Bath: Times Company, 1936), pp. 410-33; "Bath Genealogy in Two Volumes," typescript, Patten Free Library; Alfred Holt, "Genealogies of Bath Families," typescript, Patten Free Library.

²⁶James H. Mundy, *Hard Times, Hard Men: Maine and the Irish, 1830-1860*. (Scarborough, Maine: Harp Publications, 1990.), pp. 135-62; Owen, *Plummer History of Bath*, pp. 206-10.

²⁷Barry Rodrigue, private family papers.